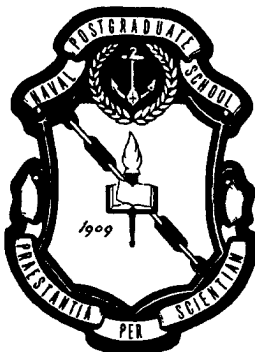


Naval Postgraduate School
Monterey, California 93943-5138



SUMMARY OF RESEARCH 1997

**Department of National
Security Affairs**

**Frank Petho
Chair**

**James Wirtz
Associate Chair for Research**

19990304 081

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Monterey, California

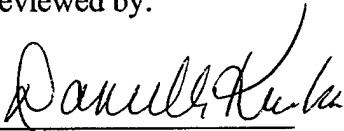
Rear Admiral R.C. Chaplain
Superintendent

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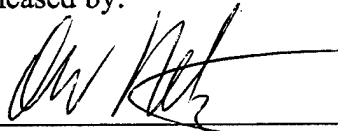
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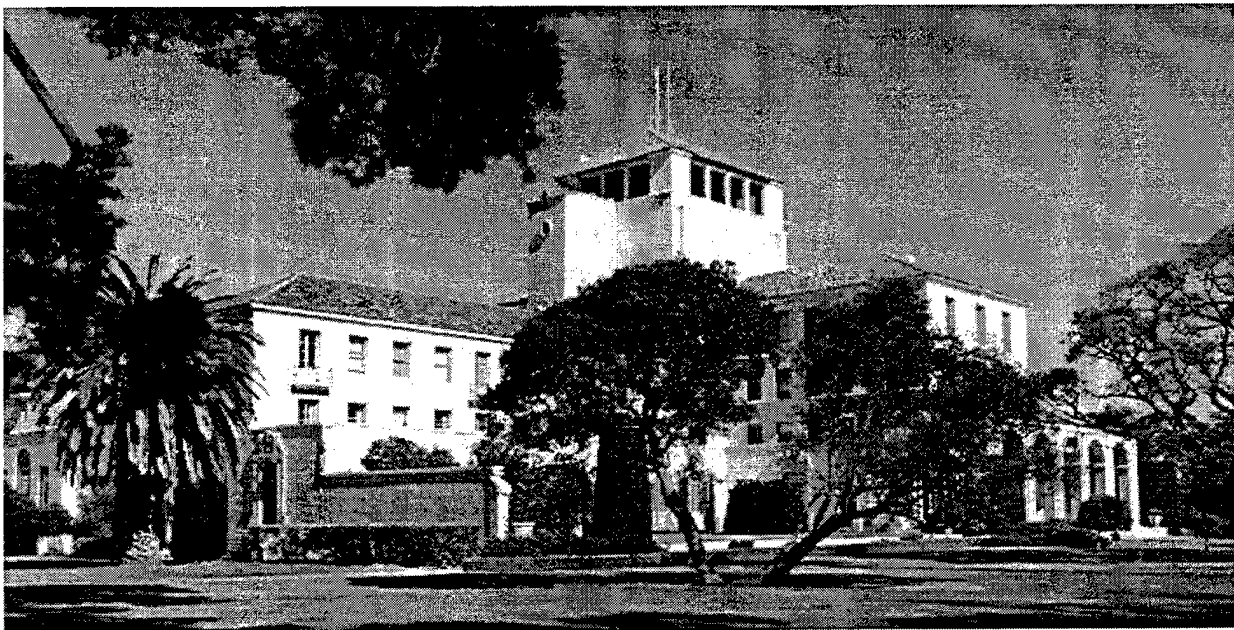


David W. Netzer
Associate Provost and Dean of Research

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THE NAVAL POSTGRADUATE SCHOOL MISSION

The mission of the Naval Postgraduate School is to increase the combat effectiveness of U.S. and Allied armed forces and enhance the security of the USA through advanced education and research programs focused on the technical, analytical, and managerial tools needed to confront defense-related challenges



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PREFACE

Research at the Naval Postgraduate School is carried out by faculty in the School's eleven academic departments, four interdisciplinary groups, and the School of Aviation Safety. This volume contains research summaries for the projects undertaken by faculty in the Department of National Security Affairs during 1997. Also included is an overview of the department, faculty listing, a compilation of publications/presentations, and abstracts from theses directed by the department faculty.

Questions about particular projects may be directed to the faculty Principal Investigator listed, the Department Chair, or the Department Associate Chair for Research. Questions may also be directed to the Office of the Associate Provost and Dean of Research. General questions about the NPS Research Program should be directed to the Office of the Associate Provost and Dean of Research at (831) 656-2098 (voice) or research@nps.navy.mil (e-mail). Additional information is also available at the RESEARCH AT NPS website, <http://web.nps.navy.mil~code09/>.

INTRODUCTION

The research program at the Naval Postgraduate School exists to support the graduate education of our students. It does so by providing militarily relevant thesis topics that address issues from the current needs of the Fleet and Joint Forces to the science and technology that is required to sustain the long-term superiority of the Navy/DoD. It keeps our faculty current on Navy/DoD issues, permitting them to maintain the content of the upper division courses at the cutting edge of their disciplines. At the same time, the students and faculty together provide a very unique capability within the DoD for addressing warfighting problems. This capability is especially important at the present time when technology in general, and information operations in particular, are changing rapidly. Our officers must be able to think innovatively and have the knowledge and skills that will let them apply technologies that are being rapidly developed in both the commercial and military sectors. Their unique knowledge of the operational Navy, when combined with a challenging thesis project that requires them to apply their focussed graduate education, is one of the most effective methods for both solving Fleet problems and instilling the life-long capability for applying basic principles to the creative solution of complex problems.

The research program at NPS consists of both reimbursable (sponsored) and institutionally funded research. The research varies from very fundamental to very applied, from unclassified to all levels of classification.

- **Reimbursable (Sponsored) Program:** This program includes those projects externally funded on the basis of proposals submitted to outside sponsors by the School's faculty. These funds allow the faculty to interact closely with RDT&E program managers and high-level policymakers throughout the Navy, DoD, and other government agencies as well as with the private sector in defense-related technologies. The sponsored program utilizes Cooperative Research and Development Agreements (CRADAs) with private industry, participates in consortia with other government laboratories and universities, provides off-campus courses either on-site at the recipient command or by VTC, and provides short courses for technology updates.
- **NPS Institutionally Funded Research Program (NIFR):** The institutionally funded research program has several purposes: (1) to provide the initial support required for new faculty to establish a Navy/DoD relevant research area, (2) to provide support for major new initiatives that address near-term Fleet and OPNAV needs, (3) to enhance productive research that is reimbursable sponsored, (4) to contribute to the recapitalization of major scientific equipment, and (5) to cost-share the support of a strong post-doctoral program.
- **Institute for Joint Warfare Analysis (IJWA) Program:** The IJWA Program provides funding to stimulate innovative research ideas with a strong emphasis on joint, interdisciplinary areas. This funding ensures that joint relevance is a consideration of research faculty.

In 1997, the overall level of research effort at NPS was 151 faculty workyears and exceeded \$32 million. The Department of National Security Affairs' effort was 9.87 faculty workyears and exceeded \$700 thousand. The sponsored research program has grown steadily to provide the faculty and staff support that is required to sustain a strong and viable graduate school in times of reduced budgets. In FY97, over 87% percent of the NPS research program was externally supported. In the Department of National Security Affairs 87% was also externally supported.

The department's research sponsorship in FY97 is provided in Figure 1.

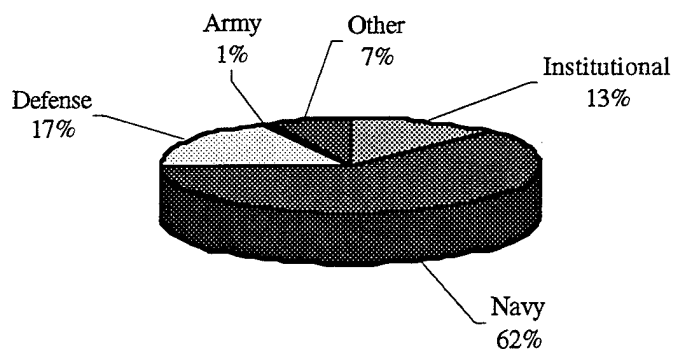


Figure 1. FY97 Sponsor Profile of the Department of National Security Affairs

These are both challenging and exciting times at NPS and the research program exists to help ensure that we remain unique in our ability to provide graduate education for the warfighter.

DAVID W. NETZER
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January 1999

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DEPARTMENT SUMMARY

The research conducted by the faculty in the Department of National Security Affairs included the following themes:

- (1) National and Regional Security and Defense Policies including virtually all of Europe, East and West, Russia and Ukraine; Latin America; the Middle East; South, East and South East Asia. The research in these areas deals with topics such as civil/military relations, foreign relations between and among groups of states, the role of regional organizations such as NATO and the UN, and bilateral relations with the United States.
- (2) The general topics of revolutions, low intensity conflict, and special operations. While dealing with the overall theme of political violence and insurrections, and covering much of the world, the strongest focus has been on different cases in Latin America.
- (3) U.S. Defense Policy, particularly regarding the role of different national institutions including the Executive and Legislative branches and the different services.
- (4) The overall theme of intelligence and how it is becoming increasingly joint. Here the emphasis is primarily on the emerging themes of intelligence and the new or changing structures whereby the United States obtains and processes information.
- (5) U.S. Naval Strategy, and particularly the implications for the Navy of the new doctrine in "From the Sea." The focus on new naval strategy holds implications for the relationships with other services and allied services.
- (6) The economics of U.S. and other countries' defense strategies. Here the emphasis is on the cost of defense, the economic implications of defense, and such themes as "economic warfare."
- (7) Certain "hot" topics of tremendous importance including counter-proliferation, cyberwar, peacekeeping, deterrence, and arms control. In many cases these topics are situated in a national or regional context, and they often bridge several of the themes noted in the other categories.

The faculty in the Department have developed a research agenda which encompasses the most important and relevant themes of international security and defense. They are virtually all active researchers with great experience in their areas of topics of choice and with an emphasis upon analysis and policy. The research is increasingly supported by reimbursable funding. The results of the research is provided to sponsors through reports and briefings, and is often made available to a larger public through the publication of scholarly articles and books.

PROJECT SUMMARIES

RESEARCH ON THE REVOLUTION IN MILITARY AFFAIRS

Jan Breemer, Associate Professor
Department of National Security Affairs
Sponsor: Office of the Secretary of Defense

OBJECTIVE: The objective of the proposed research is to explore certain military, foreign policy, and international implications of the revolution in military affairs. This exploration will be conducted, in part, through the creation of a "virtual network" of academics concerned with national security issues and policy practitioners.

DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA: Sensors

KEYWORDS: Revolution in Military Affairs

PROPOSAL TO STUDY THE NATURE OF INFORMATION WARFARE

Jan Breemer, Associate Professor
Department of National Security Affairs
Sponsor: Naval Engineering Logistics Office

OBJECTIVE: The objective of the proposed work is to explore the essential characteristics of Information Warfare (IW). A core study group, drawn from academia, will be formed to examine and develop a conceptual framework for guiding the thinking and understanding of IW as a form of conflict. Follow-on working groups will be organized to further explore and critically review the ideas generated by the core study group.

DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA: Sensors

KEYWORDS: Information Warfare

CIVIL-MILITARY RELATIONS IN BURMA, 1945-1974

Mary Callahan, Assistant Professor
Department of National Security Affairs
Sponsor: Naval Postgraduate School

OBJECTIVE: To identify and analyze the origins of the unusually durable, leftist, and isolationist form of military rule that has prevailed in Burma since 1962.

DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA: Other (Civil Military Relations)

KEYWORDS: Civil-Military Relations, Military Politics, Southeast Asia, Burma (Myanmar), U.S.-Burma Relations

PROSPECTS FOR A REGIME CHANGE IN IRAN

Ahmed Ghoreishi, Assistant Professor
Department of National Security Affairs
Sponsor: Naval Information Warfare Activity

OBJECTIVE: This research will evaluate the political stability of the regime in Iran. The internal, social and economic conditions will be fully discussed. The role and the strength of actual and potential opposition groups to the regime will be examined.

PROJECT SUMMARIES

DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA: Other (Social-Economic)

KEYWORDS: Iran, Social and Economic Conditions, Opposition Groups

INDIA AND THE REVOLUTION IN MILITARY AFFAIRS

Peter Lavoy, Associate Professor

Department of National Security Affairs

Sponsor: Naval Engineering Logistics Office

OBJECTIVE: The aims of this research project are twofold: to describe current Indian writing and thinking about information warfare and, more broadly, about the revolution in military affairs, and to describe current Indian writing and thinking about nuclear use doctrines and nuclear command and control procedures.

DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA: Other (Information Warfare)

KEYWORDS: India, Pakistan, Nuclear Weapons, Information Warfare

WEAPONS OF MASS DESTRUCTION EMPLOYMENT CONCEPTS AND COMMAND AND CONTROL ARRANGEMENTS

Peter Lavoy, Associate Professor

Department of National Security Affairs

Sponsor: Naval Engineering Logistics Office

OBJECTIVE: The aim of this multi-author research project is to identify the existing and/or projected weapons of mass destruction (WMD) employment concepts and command and control arrangements for selected countries possessing WMD in Asia and the Middle East.

DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA: Other (Weapons Systems)

KEYWORDS: Weapons of Mass Destruction

CHAIR OF WEAPONS PROLIFERATION ANALYSIS

Peter Lavoy, Associate Professor

Department of National Security Affairs

Sponsor: Central Intelligence Agency

OBJECTIVE: The aim of this project is to support the chair of weapons proliferation analysis at NPS. In establishing this chair, NPS will provide a focused research program in weapons proliferation analysis for the DCI Non-Proliferation Center. The research program will incorporate various activities encompassing: research on weapons proliferation problems of current interest; simulation of relevant faculty research and supervision of students research; development of regular course and special seminars on weapons proliferation; organization of special conferences and workshops involving other governmental and educational organizations, and travel to relevant governmental, educational, and research activities.

DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA: Other (Weapons Proliferation)

KEYWORDS: Nuclear, Chemical, Biological Weapons

PROJECT SUMMARIES

THE ROLE OF TAIWAN IN ASIAN MULTILATERAL SECURITY: TOWARD THE 21ST CENTURY

Edward Olsen, Professor
Department of National Security Affairs
Sponsor: Chiang Ching-Kuo Foundation

OBJECTIVE: To determine likely roles for Taiwan in Asian/Western Pacific Regional Multilateral security Arrangements in the late 1990s and early 21st century.

DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA: Other (International Relations)

KEYWORDS: Asia, Taiwan, China, Japan, Korea, Security, Regional

TERRORISM IN THE 1990s AND THE THREAT TO U.S. INTERESTS

Maria Moyono-Rasmussen, Assistant Professor
Department of National Security Affairs
Sponsor: Naval Postgraduate School

OBJECTIVE: To evaluate future terrorist trends, assess current U.S. policy, make policy recommendations and devise a course for NPS students addressing these issues.

DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA: Other (Terrorism)

KEYWORD: Terrorism

SUPPORT FOR THE OFFICE OF NAVAL INTELLIGENCE CHAIR PROFESSORSHIP

Gross Scruggs, DoD Civilian
Department of National Security Affairs
Sponsor: Office of Naval Intelligence

OBJECTIVE: The objective of this proposal is to provide support to the ONI Chair of Intelligence. This Chair was established by memorandum of understanding between the Superintendent, Naval Postgraduate School, and the Director of Naval Intelligence in September 1996.

DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA: Other (Intelligence)

KEYWORD: Intelligence

MILITARY POLICIES OF POST-SOVIET STATES: SOURCE AND CONDUCT

Mikhail Tsyarkin, Associate Professor
Department of National Security Affairs
Sponsor: Naval Engineering Logistics Office

OBJECTIVE: This is a study of military policies of Post-Soviet states that will focus on the decision-making mechanisms for formulation and implementation of military policies, impact of revolution in military affairs, and process of military reform.

PROJECT SUMMARIES

DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA: Other (International Studies)

KEYWORDS: Ukraine, Eurasia, Military, Security, Doctrine, Decision-Making

MILITARY DOCTRINES AND CAPABILITIES IN THE POST-SOVIET SECURITY

Mikhail Tsyarkin, Associate Professor
Department of National Security Affairs
Sponsor: Naval Security Group Support Activity

OBJECTIVE: A study of military doctrine and capabilities in the Post-Soviet security environment would focus on such crucial issues as formulation of Russia's, Ukraine's and other Post-Soviet nations military doctrines and their emerging military postures; policies regarding the former Soviet nuclear arsenal; decision-making mechanisms for national security in the major Soviet success states; political influence on the military in Russia, Ukraine and other states; the condition of the former Soviet Navy; and the condition of Defense Industries, as well as selected scenarios in regional areas of interest to the sponsor, generally involving exported Russian weapons, equipment and or doctrine.

DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA: Other (International Studies)

KEYWORDS: Russia, Ukraine, Eurasia, Military, Security, Doctrine, Decision-Making

ARMS CONTROL COMPLIANCE: FUTURE ISSUES

James Wirtz, Associate Professor
Department of National Security Affairs
Sponsor: Navy International Program Office

OBJECTIVE: The purpose of this project is to provide support to the Navy International Program Office by responding to a series of research questions related to arms control compliance.

DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA: Other (Arms Control)

KEYWORD: Arms Control, WMD, Counterproliferation

FUTURE ISSUES IN BALLISTIC MISSILE DEFENSE

James Wirtz, Associate Professor
Department of National Security Affairs
Sponsor: Naval Sea Systems Command

OBJECTIVE: The purpose of this project is to provide student and faculty support to the ballistic missile Defense office by responding to a series of research questions related to defense against ballistic missiles.

DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA: Other (Weapon Systems)

KEYWORDS: National Missile Defense, Theater Missile Defense, Deterrence

PROJECT SUMMARIES

EUROPE AND INFORMATION WARFARE

David S. Yost, Professor
Department of National Security Affairs
Sponsor: Naval Engineering Logistics Office

OBJECTIVE: The objective of this continuing project is to advance understanding of European security policy developments, especially with regard to the information warfare aspects of the "Revolution in Military Affairs." This includes matters such as doctrine, education and training, system development, and technology transfer policy in major NATO European governments, military organizations, and industrial establishments.

SUMMARY: Some theorists contend that a "Revolution in Military Affairs" takes place when new technologies are combined with innovative operational concepts and organizational adaptations that fundamentally change the character and conduct of military operations. This research effort has emphasized the analysis of primary sources from publications in NATO Europe regarding the information warfare aspects of the "Revolution in Military Affairs." A broad definition of "information warfare" has been utilized, in order to encompass means to exploit information systems, to attack those of adversaries, and to protect one's own and those of allies.

DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREAS: Electronic Warfare, Other (Nuclear Deterrence, Revolution in Military Affairs)

KEYWORDS: France, Europe, Information Warfare, NATO, Nuclear Deterrence, Revolution in Military Affairs

FRANCE, EUROPEAN SECURITY, AND THE REVOLUTION IN MILITARY AFFAIRS

David S. Yost, Professor
Department of National Security Affairs
Sponsor: Office of the Secretary of Defense

OBJECTIVE: The objective of this continuing project is to advance understanding of European security policy developments, especially with regard to France and the "Revolution in Military Affairs." This includes matters such as doctrine, system development, and technology policy in France and other major NATO European governments, military organizations, and industrial establishments.

SUMMARY: Some theorists contend that a "Revolution in Military Affairs" takes place when new technologies are combined with innovative operational concepts and organizational adaptations that fundamentally change the character and conduct of military operations. The key new technologies at the current juncture include information systems to gather, process, and disseminate data; extended-range, advanced conventional munitions; and simulations techniques to prepare and train forces and to develop new types of capabilities and operational concepts. The issues under investigation in this project also include the future of nuclear deterrence, conventional deterrence and force planning, possible NATO expansion, missile defense, Combined Joint Task Forces, developments in Russia and Ukraine, Mediterranean and North African security, and European security and defense identity.

CONFERENCE PRESENTATIONS:

Yost, D.S., "U.S. Nuclear Forces and Commitments in Europe," Research Associates Conference of the International Institute for Strategic Studies, Ockenden Manor, Sussex, England, 28 February 1997.

Yost, D.S., "The Legitimization of Nuclear Deterrence," NATO Nuclear Policy Course, the NATO School, Oberammergau, Germany, 24 October 1997.

DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA: Other (Nuclear Deterrence, Revolution in Military Affairs)

KEYWORDS: Strategy, France, Europe, NATO, Nuclear Deterrence, Revolution in Military Affairs

PROJECT SUMMARIES

NATO'S NEW ROLES IN INTERNATIONAL SECURITY

David S. Yost, Professor

Department of National Security Affairs

Sponsor: United States Institute of Peace Fellowship

OBJECTIVE: The objective of this project is to advance understanding of NATO's new roles in international security, particularly with regard to collective security endeavors undertaken on behalf of the international community, such as the peace enforcement efforts underway in Bosnia since late 1995.

SUMMARY: While the Atlantic Alliance has multiple functions, it originated as, and remains, a group of nations dedicated to collective defense — ensuring protection for the Allies against direct aggression or coercion. Since 1990, however, collective security has become increasingly prominent in the Alliance's words and deeds. The words include NATO's offers, beginning in 1992, to support the United Nations and the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe in peacekeeping operations; its commitments since 1994 to the 27 non-NATO nations in the Partnership for Peace; and its declarations that "security is indivisible" throughout what has since the end of the Cold War often been called the Euro-Atlantic area — the vast region consisting of North America, Europe, and the former Soviet Union, including the former Soviet republics in the Caucasus and Central Asia. The deeds encompass the many Partnership for Peace exercises and other activities oriented toward peacekeeping; the efforts to devise Combined Joint Task Forces that could be used for crisis management and peacekeeping by NATO-approved "coalitions of the willing;" and, most significantly, NATO's first military operations involving actual combat — the interventions under UN auspices in the former Yugoslavia that made possible the Dayton accords and the NATO-led implementation and stabilization forces (IFOR and SFOR).

CONFERENCE PRESENTATIONS:

Yost, D.S., "NATO's New Roles in International Security," United States Institute of Peace, Washington, DC, 24 June 1997.

Yost, D.S., "NATO and Conflict Management and Resolution," College and University Faculty Seminar, United States Institute of Peace, Washington, DC, 20 July 1997.

Yost, D.S., "La nouvelle Alliance Atlantique et la sécurité collective," Association Europe et Défense, Brussels, Belgium, 18 December 1997.

DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA: Other (International Security)

KEYWORDS: Strategy, Europe, NATO, Crisis Management, Collective Security, Peacekeeping

PUBLICATIONS/PRESENTATIONS

JOURNALS

Laba, R. "The Cossack Movement and the Russian State, 1990-1996," *Low Intensity Conflict and Law Enforcement*, Winter 1997.

Magnus, R.H., "Afghanistan in 1996: Year of the Taliban," *Asian Survey*, Vol. XXXVII, No. 2, pp. 111-117, February 1997.

Robinson, G., "Can Islamists be Democrats? The Case of Jordan," *The Middle East Journal*, Vol. 51, No. 3, Summer 1997.

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Robinson, G., "The Roots of Authoritarianism in Palestinian Politics," *International Institute for Strategic Studies*, Summer 1997.

Robinson, G., "Oslo, Three Years On," *Survival*, Vol. 38, No. 4, 1996-1997.

CONFERENCE PRESENTATIONS

Yost, D.S., "NATO's New Roles in International Security," United States Institute of Peace, Washington, DC, 24 June 1997.

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Yost, D.S., "U.S. Nuclear Forces and Commitments in Europe," Research Associates Conference of the International Institute for Strategic Studies, Ockenden Manor, Sussex, England, 28 February 1997.

Yost, D.S., "The Legitimization of Nuclear Deterrence," NATO Nuclear Policy Course, the NATO School, Oberammergau, Germany, 24 October 1997.

BOOKS

Bruneau, T., *Political Parties and Democracy in Portugal: Organizations, Elections, and Public Opinion*, Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1997.

Robinson, G., *Building a Palestinian State: The Incomplete Revolution*, Bloomington and Indianapolis, IN, Indiana University Press, 248 pp., 1997.

BOOK CHAPTERS

Robinson, G., "Islamists Under Political Liberalization," *Myths and Realities of Islamic Fundamentalism: Theoretical Aspects and Case Studies*, Ahmad Moussalli (ed.), Ithaca University Press, 1997.

Robinson, G., "The Greater Middle East Co-Prosperity Sphere?" *Gulf Security in the 21st Century*, David Long and Jamal S. Al-Suwaida (eds.), 1997.

PUBLICATIONS/PRESENTATIONS

OTHER

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1997 THESIS ABSTRACTS

TURNING BACK THE CLOCK: U.N. SANCTIONS AGAINST IRAQ

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This thesis is a single case study analyzing the impact of sanctions on Iraq's current and projected future economy. The evidence presented indicate sanctions caused long-term economic devastation, but appear incapable of promoting political change. The paper outlines Iraq's economy in four sections. The first, demonstrates the nation's economic position prior to sanctions showing Iraq's vulnerability to international pressure and economic isolation. Next, sanctions are defined, illustrating the reasons, the variety and demonstrating their comprehensive application. The third section details the current economy after six years of unified global embargo and looks at Saddam Hussein's desperate attempt to generate foreign exchange despite multinational opposition. Finally, the paper projects Iraq's ability to promote economic recovery following the removal of sanctions. Evidence concludes that Iraq's economic growth potential for the next three decades has been stymied, thereby, making economic sanctions unnecessary. The hard-line U.S. stand against Iraq, is preventing the settlement of war reparations, imposing a generation of Iraqi people to poverty and causing friction among our allies. As the second term of the Clinton administration begins, perhaps now is the time to develop a new U.S. regional strategy.

THE ARAB GULF COOPERATION COUNCIL (AGCC) IS NOT JUST AN ORGANIZATION FOR SECURITY, BUT IT IS AN ORGANIZATION FOR COOPERATION IN ALL FIELDS

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This thesis examines the main purpose for establishing the AGCC, and proves that it was not created just as a defensive alliance as it is generally perceived in the West. The AGCC was formed for cooperation and in all fields among its Member States. To demonstrate this fact, this thesis discusses the historical events that led to the establishment of this organization and analyzes the cooperation of the member states in area of politics, security, economy, as well as the development of human resources.

The analysis indicates that the formation of the Shura Council (Consultative National Councils) was the first step in the right direction in building suitable political institutions. They allow the citizens of the AGCC to participate in the decision making process. Also, the thesis examines the external and the internal threats to the region and the AGCC relations with the West. It finds that the AGCC States must enhance the existing (Gulf) Island Shield Force and maintain its alliance with the West.

The Study examines the economies of the AGCC States and shows that the AGCC States are still largely oil-based economies. It suggests additional and aggressive economic diversification programs which are needed and essential to base the economies on sustainable resources. The AGCC State must maximize and use oil returns to diversify their economies away from oil. Additionally, the thesis discusses the human resources development and emphasizes the investment in human capital which should be the objective and the priority of the AGCC States. Also, the thesis suggests that the educational system of the AGCC States needs radical reforms to meet the demands of modern economy. Finally, the thesis provides general recommendations to strengthen and move the AGCC forward in the future.

1997 THESIS ABSTRACTS

PLUS ÇA CHANGE - FRENCH NATO RAPPROCHEMENT

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On December 5, 1995, the French government announced its decision to increase its level of participation in NATO. Although France was not rejoining the Alliance's integrated military structure, the French Foreign Minister would resume attending meetings of NATO's Military Committee in an official capacity. This decision broke with 30 years of French foreign policy begun by President Charles de Gaulle when he withdrew French forces from NATO in 1966.

Why has Paris changed its NATO policy? Officially, the French government stated that it wanted to take an active role in reforming the Alliance after the end of the Cold War and to strengthen the European contribution to North Atlantic security. However, while these were actual French foreign policy goals, achieving them was not the primary reason that France changed its NATO policy. Several events, including the Gulf War and the Bosnian conflict had revealed the weakness of the French military and its inability to carry out French foreign policy objectives. At the same time, the sluggish French economy prevented France from modernizing its forces. Faced with these realities, France had little choice but to expand its ties to NATO in the interest of its own national security.

THE PEACE PROCESSES OF COLOMBIA AND EL SALVADOR:

A COMPARATIVE STUDY

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Colombia and El Salvador, two Latin American countries, have developed similar counterinsurgency processes and started similar processes of peace negotiations, between the insurgent armies and the forces of order. One peace process was concluded in 1992, when El Salvador ended the war through a political solution (Peace Accords). Salvadoran insurgent force agreed to demobilize its Army and to become a legal political party, while the government accepted to make changes in the social and political structure. Colombia, after forty years of guerrilla warfare and after some failed peace talks during the last decade, is still trying to set conditions to gain peace through negotiations.

The thesis, while contrasting both general contexts, emphasizes their differences to explain the success of the peace process in El Salvador and the failure in Colombia. After comparing the political actors involved-the military and the guerrillas-, after studying the intensity of the conflict, and after analyzing the outcomes of the different peace processes, the conclusion was that the Salvadoran model of negotiation cannot be applied entirely to the Colombian case. Similarly, no government should try to copy the Salvadoran recipe as the remedy for its social and political problems. Any simplistic interpretation should be avoided, because it could lead to some fallacies that could also generate dangerous interpretations by the key actors in the process.

1997 THESIS ABSTRACTS

TIME FOR A CHANGE IN THE UNITED STATES-JAPAN SECURITY RELATIONSHIP?

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The United States-Japan Security relationship continues to exist in its present form because both sides have become used to it, and are wary to let it die in the face of future uncertainties. Without a threat of the proportions the Soviet Union once posed, Japanese and American officials are unable to find a solid strategic foundation upon which to justify the current level of military integration.

Yet, the "Japan-United States Joint Declaration on Security" made by President Clinton and Prime Minister Hashimoto in April 1996 talks about reaffirming and deepening these ties based on the need to maintain regional stability. At the same time neither side is willing to outline what changes in the current security environment are required to obviate the need for such a relationship.

The problems with deepening the level of security cooperation between the United States and Japan are manifest. Even when a clear, common threat served as the basis for their coordinated efforts during the Cold War, the Japanese did not view their security relationship with the United States as a full fledged alliance. During that period, Japanese policy makers were careful to avoid any increased military commitment, or foreign policy alignment with the United States that was not absolutely essential to the maintenance of the relationship.

Now, both countries require more flexibility in dealing with other Asian countries than their current bilateral relationship allows. In a multipolar world, both Japan and the United States must individually decide how to defend their interests as they are challenged.

This thesis examines both the origins and current status of the United States-Japan security relationship. It also appraises the relationships and conflicts of interests that both nations have with other powers in the Asian arena.

The ultimate purpose of this thesis is to provide some insight into the making of the current and future policies of both Japan and the United States.

PERILS OF A DEMOCRATIC PEACE

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President Clinton has declared that the promotion of democracy is the key to ensuring America's security in the post-Cold War world. This assertion is based upon an international relations theory called the "democratic peace." Expressed simply, it states that democracies are reluctant to engage one another in war; therefore, increasing the number of democracies worldwide will promote peace and, ultimately, America's security. Although it is a seductive theory, the notion of the democratic peace has many pitfalls. The goal of this thesis is to demonstrate that the democratic peace theory is not an appropriate foundation for U.S. national security strategy. First, the thesis establishes that "democracy" is not universally desirable. Instead, cultural factors, ethnic nationalism, and economics create imperatives that thwart efforts to develop democracy. Second, the actions of the intelligence services of democratic states against fellow democracies are cited - including espionage, economic espionage, and covert action - to illustrate that peace is not without peril. Ultimately, pursuit of a democratic peace may jeopardize national security because it threatens to entangle the United States in costly foreign interventions. Additionally, the false sense of security it engenders may lull the U.S. into a state of complacency from which it will be unable to recover.

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THE COMMAND AND CONTROL OF SPECIAL OPERATIONS FORCES

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The operations chosen in this work are short duration, direct action missions in either semi-permissive or non-permissive environments at either the operational or strategic levels of war or in operations other than war (OOTW). Specifically, this thesis will examine SOF participation in Desert One, Grenada (Urgent Fury), Panama (Just Cause), and Somalia to determine the effectiveness of C2. Emphasis will be placed on two integrated areas of the principles of war—unity of command and simplicity. Unity of command is looked at with regard to impartiality toward the needs and capabilities of all forces represented. Simplicity is concerned with overly complicated plans and their deconfliction. Both unity of command and simplicity illustrate possible ways to improve the planning and execution of future operations.

In a previous work on integrated operations, Michael Kershaw acknowledges the relationship between command and training and a special unit's ability to integrate with general purpose forces (GPF). He does limit his analysis to the development of a theory of integrated operations. The relation of command and its significance on shaping a mission's success is discussed. This thesis will conclude with a judgment on SOCOM's effectiveness and some possible future implications.

THE VIETNAM SYNDROME AND THE CONFLICT IN FORMER YUGOSLAVIA

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This thesis investigates to what extent the U.S. experience in the Vietnam War and the lessons learned from it, a phenomenon known as the "Vietnam Syndrome," influenced the decision by the United States not to intervene during the early stages of the Balkan conflict.

The study will argue that the Vietnam War was used as a historical analogy for the current situation in the former Yugoslavia. I further argue that this method was an improperly used historical parallel and should not have been applied.

VIETNAMESE STRATEGIC CULTURE AND THE COMING STRUGGLE FOR THE SOUTH CHINA SEA

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Despite inferior strength, Vietnam clings to extensive claims in the South China Sea in conflict with China's claims. Through use of the concept of "strategic culture," this thesis investigates the factors, including perceived historical lessons, that drive Vietnam to maintain this strategic posture. The most relevant lessons are that: (1) China perpetually desires and frequently attempts to dominate Vietnam, and that resistance historically has served Vietnam better than appeasement and (2) Vietnam has the inherent ability to attract foreign benefactors that will help her balance against Chinese power and achieve her own goals. The author explores how these lessons have shaped a modern-day Vietnamese strategic culture and whether it is suited to the strategic realities that Vietnam currently faces. A conclusion is that Vietnam's current strategic culture is likely to continue either until it is shown to be inadequate in conflict with China over control of the South China Sea, or until Vietnam succeeds in attracting a new benefactor or protector.

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WEAPONS OF MASS DESTRUCTION AND TERRORISM: PROLIFERATION BY NON-STATE ACTORS

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Executive Order No.12938 signed by President Clinton on November 14, 1994 declared a national emergency with respect to the unusual and extraordinary threat that proliferation of weapons of mass destruction (those weapons categorized as nuclear, chemical, or biological) poses to the national security, foreign policy, and economy of the United States.

In the wake of the Cold War, a new world disorder seems to be emerging wherein the legitimacy of many states is being challenged from within by increasing non-state calls for self-determination from the likes of religious cults, hate groups, isolationist movements, ethnic groups, and revivalist movements. These movements often prey on the insecurities of the population, offering to fill psychological, social, political, or religious security needs of those who would join them. Religious oriented groups appear to share a common ideology which rejects existing social, economic, and political structure demanding a drastic revision of the world—a world where they become the authoritarian, dominant influence. These are the Post-Modern Terrorists who possess a “ripeness” to threaten use of weapons of mass destruction.

This study presents an argument suggesting that terrorist groups operating under the veneer of religion are truly the most likely candidates to threaten use of weapons of mass destruction in a mass casualty causing terrorist act.

CUBA: THE SURVIVAL OF COMMUNISM IN THE POST-COLD WAR ERA

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This thesis examines the survival of Cuban communism in the post-Cold War era. The question addressed is: how viable is communism in Cuba now that communism in the former Soviet Union and Eastern Europe has failed? This thesis is a case study of communism in Cuba in the post-Cold War period that looks comparatively at Poland and China. Four independent variables are tested: (1) regime legitimacy; (2) economic performance; (3) development of civil society and an autonomous political culture; and (4) United States foreign policy as an agent of regime change.

This thesis concludes by addressing United States foreign policy as it relates to Cuba and by recommending a more open relationship that engages the current regime in Cuba. A policy of engagement in Cuba, much like the current United States policy with China, is a win-win strategy that would help oppositional forces in Cuba to find a public space, while denying the current regime a justification for its continuance.

LEBANON: THE UNCERTAIN ROAD TO RECONSTRUCTION

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Lebanon is the midst of an ill-fated reconstruction effort. The \$30 billion plan involves not only physical reconstruction after 15 years of a devastating civil war but also an attempt at national reconciliation between Lebanon's historically contentious confessional groups. The effort is doomed to a path of diminishing returns due to the lack of a regional peace agreement between Israel and Syria.

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Syria's domination of the Lebanese political scene and Israel's occupation of nearly 10 percent of Lebanese territory, both of which are near certainties in the absence of peace, ensure Lebanon will remain the last remaining battlefield of the Arab-Israeli conflict. The lack of stability in the region, real or perceived, negatively impacts investor confidence, virtually crippling a reconstruction plan that relies heavily on foreign investment. Further, the lack of a regional peace exacerbates internal problems within Lebanese society, which in and of themselves are quite capable of derailing reconstruction. Lebanon's reconstruction will have to wait for the precarious peace process to run its course.

FRATRICIDE IN AIR-LAND OPERATIONS

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This thesis identifies evolutionary trends in ground maneuver, tactical air power, and fratricide during the 20th century. It explores two variables that account for most fratricides in warfare: the loss of situational awareness and the lack of positive target identification. This study also addresses how contemporary U.S. warfighting doctrine contributes to the loss of situational awareness and compounds an already faulty target identification process. This thesis argues that the primary causes of fratricide have remained constant despite rapid changes in technology and the increasing complexity of U.S. air-land operations. When normal human failings are coupled with the absence of positive target identification, the end-result may often be casualties from friendly-fire. The complexity of maneuver and modern air-land operations often compound errors in human situational awareness. This thesis provides recommendations to help the U.S. armed forces improve combat identification efforts and reduce fratricide while retaining their existing superiority in air-land operations.

WHITE EXTREMISM AND THE U.S. MILITARY

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This thesis argues that the involvement of active duty military personnel in white extremist groups and activities, no matter how small in numbers, poses a serious threat to the "good order and discipline" and ultimate combat effectiveness of the U.S. military. The purpose of this thesis is twofold: 1) to produce a reference document for military commanders and 2) to offer policy and other recommendations.

Beginning with a discussion of the two subsets of white extremists and their respective ideologies, the thesis then provides an in-depth analysis of nine contemporary groups and a profile of their membership. Following this, is a discussion of sociological and psychological explanations for contemporary white extremism. Finally, this thesis outlines the Department of Defense (DoD) policy on extremism, analyzes reports released by the United States Army (USA) and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) on this subject and discusses the extent of this problem DoD-wide.

Recommendations that I advocate beyond those recommended by the USA and the NAACP are: 1) the prohibition of passive participation in extremist groups; 2) that leaders receive periodic training in the indicators of extremist activity and information on local extremist groups; 3) that minorities are spread evenly throughout units so as to be present at the smallest sub-units possible; 4) that service members should be assigned to barracks rooms based on these ethnically diverse small units; 5) that the DoD should prohibit the policy of "open installations;" and 6) that the DoD (e.g., the Defense Equal Opportunity Management Institute (DEOMI)) should consult with those in academia who are subject matter experts on extremism.

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COUNTER-ORGANIZATION TARGETING: A THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK FOR ANALYSIS

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The purpose of this thesis is to present and substantiate a theory of counter-organization targeting. This thesis achieves this objective by creating and testing a framework for analysis which blends the principles of organization theory with classic counterinsurgency theory. The goal of this framework is to provide an analytical tool for operational-level targeting of adversary organizations during war, conflict, and stability and support operations.

This study analyzes the historical precedents of counter-organization targeting to demonstrate its viability as a necessary condition for success in counterinsurgency campaigns. Additionally, by applying the framework against an unresolved case, this study validates its applicability against a broader spectrum of the operational continuum. As a result, this thesis offers an innovative framework allowing for a logical and common sense approach to observing, assessing, targeting, and interdicting adversary organizations.

Finally, this thesis holds both predictive qualities with respect to understanding an organization's future behavior, as well as prescriptive qualities, in the sense of systematically attacking and neutralizing the same organization. This thesis also expands the concepts offered in U.S. Army Field Manual 100-20, *Stability and Support Operations*, and bridges the gap between the strategic, and the tactical levels of campaign planning and execution.

INDIA'S NUCLEAR WEAPONS POSTURE: THE END OF AMBIGUITY?

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This thesis examines the future of India's nuclear weapons posture. Since testing a nuclear device in 1974, India has been able to produce weapons material within its civilian nuclear power program. Despite having this nuclear weapons capability, India prefers to maintain an ambiguous nuclear posture. New pressures in the post-cold war era—the loss of the Soviet Union as a strategic ally, the indefinite extension of the nuclear nonproliferation treaty, the rise of Hindu nationalism, and India's growing participation in the global economy—have the potential to derail India's current nuclear policy. This thesis identifies the domestic and international pressures on India, and assesses the prospects for India to retain its ambiguous policy, renounce the nuclear option, or assemble an overt nuclear arsenal.

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URBANIZATION IN THE THIRD WORLD: IMPLICATIONS FOR ARSOF IN THE 21ST CENTURY

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Army Special Operation Forces (ARSOF) have historically operated in the rural environment of less-developed countries of the world. The premise of this thesis is that current demographics, socioeconomic trends, geopolitical factors, as well as strategic, operational, and tactical considerations suggest that the "urban jungle" will be the dominant battle as we move into the next century. Current *MOUT* and *Stability and Support Operations* doctrine, as well as training is inadequate to prepare ARSOF operators for the conduct of operations in the urban environment. Three specific case studies—the French in Algiers, the Uruguayan Army in Montevideo, and the British in Northern Ireland—are analyzed to demonstrate the problems, and the consequences, which occur when a force is thrust into "conflict" in an urban environment with inadequate doctrine and training. This thesis concludes that without updated, coherent, and integrated doctrine, the U.S. military will take an *ad hoc* approach to the planning of urban stability and support operations. This could very well lead to the misutilization of ARSOF. This thesis concludes by recommending the development of an amplifying manual for stability and support operations in the urban environment.

IRAN TODAY: FUNDAMENTALIST STRUCTURES OF GOVERNMENT AND GROWTH

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Despite 18 years of effort to establish a quasi-democratic fundamentalist regime, Iranian elections saw the crushing defeat of the ruling elite's candidate. This election result represents a popular call for a change in direction for the Islamic regime. Iran is not alone in their battle to reconcile fundamentalist religious doctrine and progression into the Twenty-first century. Tradition based economies and their requisite structures of government are relevant throughout the world today. With few exceptions these systems have been unable to produce states with effective economies. Without a sustainable growth rate in the economy, dealing with the almost universal population explosions seen in these fundamentalist-based systems is proving impossible. Frequent meddling in the economy and social fabric of the nation to try and influence market driven outcomes seems to leave these structures of government destined for revision. This thesis applies recent advances in the theory of structures of government to produce valuable insight as to the likely direction of change in Iran.

THE FORCED REPATRIATION OF SOVIET CITIZENS: A STUDY IN MILITARY OBEDIENCE

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On 11 February 1945, at the conclusion of the Yalta Conference, the United States signed a Repatriation Agreement with the USSR. The interpretation of this Agreement resulted in the forcible repatriation of all Soviets "regardless of their wishes." Repatriation operations became scenes of carnage as Soviets fiercely resisted the return to persecution, torture, and in many cases, execution. Military objections to the policy failed to result in its cancellation. This thesis examines the military struggle to find a balance between obedience and moral obligation under extremely difficult conditions. The forced repa-

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triation operations, which took place from 1945-1947, stand as a precursor to the new world of peacekeeping and peace-enforcement. These new military missions will undoubtedly bring military personnel face to face with operations of a similarly troubling nature. This study of past events may prove useful for the development of policy for future operations.

THE ARSENAL SHIP AND THE U.S. NAVY: A REVOLUTION IN MILITARY AFFAIRS PERSPECTIVE

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This thesis examines one of the U.S. Navy's major capability initiatives aimed at addressing the changed strategic and technological environment since the end of the Cold War. This initiative is known as the Arsenal Ship. This thesis considers operational concepts for use of the Arsenal Ship; it examines some of the cost and technical issues that have been raised, and it reviews possible alternatives.

The thesis concludes that the Arsenal Ship is a viable platform for meeting the U.S. Navy's Requirement for littoral power projection to meet the strategic and technological requirements of the 21st century. While there are limitations to the Arsenal Ship, the program is conceptually sound and the Arsenal Ship demonstrator program should be pursued.

NAVAL LEADERSHIP AND SOCIETY

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Tensions between society and the uniformed leaders of the military have produced disastrous results for some democracies. If the peaceful nature of American civil-military relations is to continue through the twenty-first century, a certain level of understanding and shared views need to exist between the military's senior leaders and society.

This thesis explores whether senior leaders of the naval service are becoming isolated from society; and, if so, the implications this divide may have on civil-military relations. Three measures of civil-military interaction—racial/ethnic representation, military experience, and shared values—are used to assess the extent of isolation between the nation's naval leaders and society. These measures of interaction are examined with historical and projected statistics on racial/ethnic representation among naval officers, Congressional voting records on defense-related legislation, and interviews with a sample of retired flag and general officers. The results suggest growing isolation and tension between naval leaders and society.

CIVIL-MILITARY RELATIONS AND ITS PROBLEMS

GERMANY AND RUSSIA

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This study is an attempt to compare civil-military relations and its problems in Germany and Russia and to analyze the following overall question: *What are the Problems and Challenges of Civil-Military Relations in Theory, History, Present Time, and Future ?*

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The thesis examines five selected issues of civil-military relations and its problems to analyze the overall question and to substantiate the overall thesis: Theory, German history, the Federal Republic of Germany, Russian history, and the Russian Federation / Russia.

The present Russian government should analyze the German case to find some answers to the problems of democratization and civil-military relations. But Russia must keep in mind the historical context and the specific circumstances of democratization as well as *Innere Führung* in Germany after World War II. The central problem is whether Russia will be able to establish a viable democracy like the Federal Republic of Germany after World War II or will relapse into authoritarianism, post-totalitarianism or even totalitarianism and a passion for empire-building and hegemony, like Nazi Germany after the failure of the Weimar Republic. This is really a problem because contemporary Russia seems more comparable with the Weimar Republic than with the Federal Republic of Germany.

BUILDING AN ARMY IN A DEMOCRACY IN HUNGARY AND POLAND

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This thesis presents a refined treatise of civil-military relations and military professionalism which provides civilian and military personnel engaged in the reform process in Hungary and Poland with insights into the ongoing struggle to institutionalize the ideal of the democratic citizen-soldier and democratic military professionalism. Infusing democratic military professionalism and the ideal of the citizen-soldier throughout the ranks of the Hungarian Defense Forces (HDF) and the Polish Armed Forces (PAF) will help ensure that Hungary and Poland make a complete transition to democracy and achieve "human interoperability" with NATO. As Hungary and Poland democratize, they must create mechanisms of democratic political (civilian) control of the military, introduce society and the military to the concept of the democratic citizen-soldier; and institutionalize democratic military professionalism within the armed forces.

Democratization programs such as NATO's Partnership for Peace (PFP), and the United States' Joint Contact Team Program (JCTP), International Military Education and Training Program (IMET), and the George C. Marshall European Center for Security Studies must help the Hungarian and Polish armed forces to institutionalize the ideal of the democratic citizen-soldier and democratic military professionalism. Without democratic military professionalism, the new armies of democratic citizen-soldiers in East Central Europe will not have the leadership, discipline, and morale necessary to be effective and reliable NATO partners.

NATO OPERATIONS IN THE FORMER YUGOSLAVIA: PROTOTYPING THE COMBINED JOINT TASK FORCE

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The end of the Cold War called into question NATO's relevance to the new global security environment. The Alliance's aspirations for a broader future security role are packaged in a structural initiative: the Combined Joint Task Force (CJTF). CJTF is designed to provide a mechanism for crisis response and peacekeeping operations conducted beyond Allied borders by variable coalitions of NATO members and associates. Also, CJTF is intended to facilitate better resource-sharing be-

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tween the U.S. and the European Allies, permitting the Europeans to undertake some missions without direct U.S. involvement. Such arrangements will promote a distinct European Security and Defense Identity (ESDI) within the Alliance, as well as helping to satisfy the American desire to share more of the global security burden with Europe.

Events in the former Yugoslavia have provided impetus for the Alliance's evolution, as well as creating a proving ground for its new initiatives. In the absence of a final agreement on CJTF, the Implementation Force (IFOR) in Bosnia is serving as a prototype. This thesis examines the CJTF concept's historical and strategic underpinnings, surveys the current state of the CJTF debate, and illustrates how NATO's experiences in the former Yugoslavia have contributed to the Alliance's post-Cold War renaissance.

THE IMMIGRATION CHALLENGE: THE USE OF U.S. MILITARY FORCE TO CONTROL ILLEGAL IMMIGRATION FROM MEXICO

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Controlling illegal immigration into the United States has become a major issue in U.S. politics. A February 1997 report released by the INS estimates that there are currently 5 million illegal aliens in the United States. In 1986, when the estimated number of illegal aliens was also 5 million nationally, the U.S. Congress passed an immigration reform that allowed for many of the undocumented workers in the United States to become legal residents. Approximately, 3 million illegal immigrants have become legal residents since the passage of the 1986 legislation. The latest estimate confirms the claims of some U.S. lawmakers and immigration activists that U.S. immigration policy is largely ineffective.

In 1995 two bills were introduced into the U.S. House of Representatives that called for the use of U.S. military forces to assist the INS in controlling the flow of illegal immigration. Both bills were killed in committee. With the most recent INS estimate, it is possible that similar legislation will again be introduced. This thesis examines the *military option* for border control. The findings are that the use of the military to control illegal immigration would result in lowered military readiness, and that the *militarization* of the border will produce tensions in U.S.-Mexico and U.S.-Latin American relations. Therefore, it is recommended that the military not be used to supplement the Border Patrol.

BELARUS—ON THE ROAD TO NATIONHOOD OR BACK TO A MERGER WITH RUSSIA?

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This thesis, a single case study, focuses on the manner in which Belarus handles the sovereignty that it acquired during the implosion of the Soviet Union.

Various Belarusian factors likely to generate or to foster national identity and state independence are examined. None of them (ethno-cultural patterns, institutions and politics, attitudes of the Belarusian people) gives reason for optimism. Belarusian national identity is poorly developed and unable to serve as a formative factor in nationbuilding. In addition, Belarus shows a high economic dependence on Russia. Thus, the country pursues a course of close alignment with its former overseer.

Belarus and Russia have initiated an integration process, the real aims of which are unclear. Bilateral treaties remain largely unimplemented, while the countries' leaders make contradictory statements about the possibility of a Belarusian-Russian unification. For Russia, this inconsistency reflects a lack of consensus on the issue within the government and

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among the various political factions. In the absence of an agreed-upon foreign policy in the "near abroad," Russian nostalgia for Slavic unity and the loss of the Empire further complicates the debate.

Hence, the future of a sovereign Belarus or the form of a Belarusian-Russian political alignment is still to be decided.

A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF CIVIL-MILITARY OPERATIONS PERSPECTIVES AS THEY APPLY TO PEACE SUPPORT OPERATIONS

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The post-Cold War world has been marked by the United Nation's approval and participation in the intervention into the affairs of sovereign states, often labeling them: Peace Support Operations (PSOs). While American interventions have been studied in terms of chain of command, firepower and rules of engagement problems, Civil-Military Operations (CMO) have not been analyzed in a comparative fashion. Given that future interventions are likely to occur, it is the responsibility of policy analysts and leaders to consider both the costs and benefits of democratic enlargement and the applicability of current CMO doctrine. To do this, tools are needed. This study provides three such tools.

First, case studies on the U.S. interventions in Somalia and Haiti provide a view of some of the questions and problems involved with intervening in the affairs of states for humanitarian or democratic enlargement issues. Second, the study pits contending theories against each other to see if one does a better job of explaining/predicting outcomes. Finally, the study provides recommendations on the implications of democratic enlargement, including the need for a Department of Defense, Department of State and civilian relief organization synchronization in regard to the military's requirement to: 1) intervene; 2) stabilize the situation; and 3) extract itself so that other agencies may consolidate democracy.

TURKEY AND THE EUROPEAN UNION: WILL THE PARADIGM SHIFT?

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Turkey seeks to become a full partner in the "European club" by joining the European Union (EU) and Western European Union (WEU) in addition to her current membership in NATO. This has not happened despite a long and intensive effort by Turkey to be accepted, nor will it happen in the foreseeable future. The advantages Turkish membership would bring are outweighed by EU concerns about foreign, economic, and domestic policy. Most significant among these are increased exposure to Greek-Turkish issues, Turkish economic strength in areas of little interest to Europe, and an exploding population which is expected to surpass Germany's by 2010. Europeans also question Turkey's democratic tradition, her human rights record, and more recently, her secularization. Non-admission, combined with the demise of the Soviet Union, has caused Turkey to begin acting as her own foreign policy center. The result is a shifting paradigm in Turkish foreign relations which often sees Turkish initiatives at odds with those of her post-WWII traditional allies. This Turkish trend toward unilateralism will continue at least as long as she is excluded from the EU and WEU and may, in fact, have developed its own momentum. This must be clearly understood to prevent mutual estrangement as Turkey takes initiatives (such as the recent advances to Iran and Libya) which are unpopular with her American and European allies.

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OCEANIC SOVEREIGNTY AND THE LAW OF THE SEA: FISHERY-BASED CONFLICTS

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This thesis examines fishery-based conflicts (FBCs) and the oceanic sovereignty implications of FBCs in a world devoid of the East-West superpower rivalry. The argument herein is that in the absence of the Cold War rivalry, previously lower-priority economic and diplomatic issues rise to the forefront of international relations. The analysis suggests that political stability and naval enforcement capability play a significant role in whether a nation will commit its naval forces to defend its national maritime claims. The Andean nations of Chile, Ecuador, and Peru are the subject of investigation since they possess several attributes theorized to lead to future FBCs.

Recommendations are presented as a starting point in formulating a two-fold strategy which will (1) minimize the likelihood of FBCs, and (2) respect the sovereignty of South American nations. Case studies of previous fishery-based conflicts are examined to determine the validity of the "Small Navy Theory." Also presented in this thesis are: (1) the potential roles of the United States Navy and Coast Guard in protecting U.S. fishing interest and/or functioning as the lead organizations for a UN-sponsored peacekeeping operation in the southeastern Pacific Ocean and (2) the implications of FBCs to the U.S. Intelligence Community.

COUP D'ETAT IN THE UNITED STATES: IMPOSSIBLE OR IMPROBABLE?

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This thesis looks comparatively at the social and intra-military conditions that have led to coups d'etat in other countries, in order to evaluate whether a coup d'etat could occur in the United States. This thesis also creates a fictional scenario for this possibility to demonstrate that this phenomenon is not isolated to developing and economically backward nations. The thesis argues not that a coup will actually occur in the United States, but that the U.S. system of civil military relations has been neglected and may need reform to meet the needs of the United States as a superpower. Supporting research covers the history of U.S. civil-military relations, current problems in U.S. civil military affairs, and theoretical causes of coups. It concludes that there currently is not a risk of a coup d'etat in the United States but that it may become possible in the future.

MANAGEMENT AND NAVY ORGANIZATIONAL CULTURE

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In recent years, the Navy has been plagued by a series of non-operational events that have attracted negative attention from the media and intense scrutiny from political leaders, special interest groups, and the public. Too often, Navy responses to this scrutiny have been counterproductive. This study suggests that the Navy could benefit from a broader definition of what constitutes an organizational crisis. Also, a more complex approach to crisis management is needed, especially when the potential for damage to the institutional image is high.

This thesis proposes a formalized system of crisis management. It also presents critical case studies to illustrate how organizational culture can serve as an impediment to constructive crisis management. The cases reviewed include the Naval

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Academy's handling of the 1989 Gwen Dreyer sexual harassment and hazing incident, the 1992 Electrical Engineering 311 exam cheating scandal, and the critical editorial written by faculty member James Barry and published by The Washington Post in March 1996. The research concludes that the key to effective crisis management is an organizational culture which institutionalizes the use of ethical and constructive practices.

KURDISH NATIONALISM: AMERICAN INTERESTS AND POLICY OPTIONS

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The Kurds are currently the largest nation of people without their own country. They are divided among several states, predominantly Iran, Iraq, and Turkey where they constitute large minorities. They have persistently been used as pawns by these countries and others, including the United States, only to be ignored once supporting them has no longer been beneficial. The Kurdish struggle for an independent homeland has repeatedly erupted into violence throughout history. To date there has been no permanent solution that has been acceptable to both the Kurds and the states they live in.

This thesis will examine the history of the Kurdish struggle in order to understand how their experiences have shaped the current conditions, and to help develop an effective, long-term American policy to control the situation. It will examine how the lessons of the past can be applied to policies today. The Kurdish struggle has periodically disrupted the stability and security of three of the largest nations in the Middle East. In this area, which is of vital interest to the United States, these movements threaten the fragile stability of the region. The recurring nature of these rebellions implies that it is only a matter of time before one directly threatens our interests in the area. For this reason, a thorough understanding of the Kurdish struggle is necessary.

THE FOCUS OF THE IRANIAN INTELLIGENCE COMMUNITY SINCE 1957

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During the Shah's reign, the Iranian intelligence services attracted worldwide attention by suppressing dissent and engaging in torture. In recent decades the notoriety of Iranian intelligence comes from the threat posed by Islamic terrorism and overseas assassinations. That is only a superficial and Western view of Iran's intelligence services. Despite war and revolution, the primary focus of the Iranian intelligence community has remained internal security for the last forty years.

This thesis examines the structure and history of the modern Iranian intelligence community to explain broad trends of continuity and discontinuity between the pro-Western services under the Shah and the anti-Western services under the theocratic government. As a starting point, several theories are examined to predict the focus of a developing country's intelligence community. One theory predicts a focus on external enemies, another predicts an internal orientation, and the third predicts minimal or only gradual change.

A major source for this thesis has been direct interviews with former SAVAK personnel and secondary source materials based on similar interviews. To expand potential readership of their seldom-seen information, only unclassified sources have been used throughout this thesis.

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AMERICAN VIEWS OF RUSSIAN NATIONAL INTERESTS IN NATO ENLARGEMENT

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This thesis focuses on official and unofficial American views of Russian national interests as revealed in the discussion about NATO enlargement. The thesis begins with a theoretical investigation of the concept of the national interest based on the approach of the realist school. Specifically, two positions are considered: namely, the power position and the security position. The thesis applies this theory to the discussion of Russian national interests in NATO enlargement. It reveals a host of attitudes behind official U.S. policy some of them contradictory. These tell us interesting things about American attitudes toward Russia and about the motives behind U.S. support for NATO enlargement. The thesis fosters a better understanding of the rationale behind U.S. foreign policy toward Russia in general and regarding NATO enlargement in particular.

MARITIME POWER IN COLOMBIA, ANALYSIS AND PROPOSAL OF STRATEGY

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This study examines Colombia's maritime vision. Although Colombia has a maritime window on the world it has historically underutilized and under protected its sea resources. This study argues that the Colombian Government does not have an effective and clear vision as a maritime nation. Chapter I presents the research questions and a brief background of Colombia. In Chapter II, a model of the current maritime management of Colombia is developed. In Chapter III, this model is compared with similar management models used in other Latin American countries. Chapter IV is an Organizational Analysis of Colombia's maritime related agencies. Chapter V develops and suggests a strategy to better manage maritime activities in Colombia. Finally, the study's conclusions and recommendations are presented. The study concludes that Colombia as a state has a low maritime consciousness and that there is no common maritime vision to support government policies. The study recommends that an advisory and coordination entity be set up to help create this vision and provide for long-term management of Colombia's maritime resources.

MULTIATTRIBUTE UTILITY ANALYSIS OF NON-SATELLITE COMMUNICATIONS (U)

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There is a growing awareness of U.S. overhead reconnaissance capabilities throughout the world today. In the last twenty years various entities have revealed portions of the U.S. overhead coverage and capability. Operation Desert Shield/Desert Storm served to underscore both the U.S. reliance on overhead collection and the robustness of this architecture. Additionally, there has been an effort to downgrade the classification of overhead intelligence products. While this provides additional intelligence to U.S. forces, allies, and coalition partners, it also provides a greater understanding of previously sensitive national programs to a wider audience.

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Today there are many countries who have or are developing denial and deception programs. These countries may easily obtain information about U.S. overhead capabilities through a variety of means. Some countries may exploit overhead system vulnerabilities in order to enhance their own denial and deception programs.

With multiattribute utility analysis, a model was created with which one can evaluate overhead systems designed to thwart foreign exploitation. Through this model one way will be demonstrated in which U.S. overhead security may be maintained while still providing broad support to U.S. forces.

THE PROLIFERATION OF CONVENTIONALLY-POWERED SUBMARINES: BALANCING U.S. CRUISE MISSILE DIPLOMACY? THE CASES OF INDIA AND IRAN

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The end of the Cold War has left the United States as the world's sole superpower. The ability of the United States to strike deep into the territories of most nations with impunity represents a new security threat to many nations. Defeating the U.S. military is not feasible in most cases, but balancing the United States may be possible, especially with weapons of mass destruction (WMD). Although WMD might provide a formidable deterrent, their technical, political, and economic costs preclude most nations from pursuing them. On the other hand, modern conventionally-powered submarines are easier to obtain and operate and could present a significant deterrent to U.S. military force. This thesis assesses whether the perceived threat posed by the United States has emerged as a motivation for acquiring conventionally-powered submarines since the end of the Cold War. After examining the motivations behind the recent submarine acquisitions of India and Iran, this thesis presents an economic model to predict when developing nations will be able to afford submarines if they choose to acquire them.

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A UNITED NATIONS STANDING MULTINATIONAL MARITIME FORCE - A DREAM?

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During the last decade, there has been a remarkable increase in attention paid to multinational military forces. The idea of UN standing multinational maritime forces has emerged as a potentially important contributor to international peace, order and stability. The assignment of national contingents to such a force on a standing basis seems desirable, but so far there has been no international consensus on the establishment such as this force.

This thesis proposes that a UN Standing Multinational Maritime Force can be an important contributor to international security. Establishing a UN Standing Multinational Maritime Force raises a central question: is it possible to establish a UN standing multinational maritime force? What are the problems and constraints of such a force in the UN context?

The point of this thesis is that there is a dilemma between realities and ideals, so that the establishment of a UN Standing Multinational Maritime Force seems to be a dream foreseeable only in the distant future. This thesis highlights the political constraints and problems that complicate the creation of a standing multinational maritime force in terms of UN naval missions and supporting tasks. Consequently, this thesis attempts to demonstrate that to establish a standing multinational maritime force within the UN organization is impossible unless these constraints and problems are solved.

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U.S. NUCLEAR WEAPONS IN EUROPE: THE CURRENT ENVIRONMENT AND PROSPECTS FOR THE FUTURE

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The United States and NATO are on the verge of major new policy debates regarding nuclear weapons in Europe, yet increasingly, U.S. and some NATO European policy makers find it difficult to articulate persuasive rationales for maintaining these weapons in place. The current NATO nuclear posture may not be indefinitely sustainable. Alliance members should therefore pursue a focused effort to build an informed NATO consensus and to educate the public—prior to potentially acrimonious policy debates. In this manner, the Alliance will define the future of its weapons posture based on its own security requirements, not on reactions to moves made by other actors seeking to capitalize on the reluctance of many allied officials to address nuclear issues publicly.

In addressing these issues, the first part of this thesis analyzes the principal threats to which U.S. nuclear weapons in Europe are relevant—Russian nuclear capabilities and the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction (WMD)—as well as perceptions regarding nuclear weapons issues in major West European countries. The second part develops four scenarios and evaluates their political and military implications: (1) the nuclear status quo; (2) a unilateral withdrawal of U.S. nuclear weapons from Europe; (3) the formulation of a Western European Nuclear Identity (WNI); and (4) an Air-Delivered Nuclear Forces (ANF) regime.

ORGANIZED CRIME IN RUSSIA AND UNITED STATES NATIONAL SECURITY

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This thesis examines Russian organized crime and its affect on the stability of Russia. There have been numerous assertions by U.S. policy makers that Russian organized crime affects the national security of the United States, so that aspect will also be analyzed. This research examines the structure of organized crime and the illegal activities it engages in. Then, it determines whether the Russian law enforcement system is capable of stopping crime. It also evaluates the threat organized crime poses regarding nuclear smuggling which is considered the most serious threat to U.S. national security. Finally, and most importantly, it puts Russian organized crime in perspective to U.S. national security interests. It concludes that Russian organized crime does threaten the stability of Russia, but it will not destroy the Russian state. Helping Russia fight its organized crime problem is in the interest of the United States and is compatible with the stated foreign policy objectives of the United States.

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GREEK-TURKISH CRISES SINCE 1955: IMPLICATIONS FOR GREEK-TURKISH CONFLICT MANAGEMENT

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Past attempts to explain Greek-Turkish conflict have been built on two underlying themes. One theme focuses on incompatible Greek and Turkish interests while the other identifies cultural and social differences between the two countries as the primary causes for competition. Immediate causes for the conflict include issues ranging from domestic political considerations to the international setting. This thesis examines the 1955, 1963, 1967, 1974, 1976 and 1987 Greek-Turkish crises as it questions the primacy of underlying or immediate causes in Greek-Turkish conflict. After examining possible reasons for the failure of past mediations in resolving the underlying causes of the conflict, this thesis suggests that national interests as well as cultural realities from both sides of the Aegean have to be considered in any mediation attempt. Immediate causes do not seem critical for the evolution of the conflict even though they determine the development and outcome of particular crises. This thesis also recognizes, that successful resolution of Greek-Turkish differences will be of benefit not only to the two countries but to regional stability as well (Cyprus, Balkans, Southeastern Mediterranean). Organizations with which the two countries are associated (NATO, EU, WEU) have only to gain from a Greek-Turkish rapprochement.

CONTINUATION OR EQUILIBRATION: THE ALGERIAN CONFLICT AND EUROPEAN SECURITY

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Algeria is caught in a stalled political transition. In 1991, the ancien regime, lacking credibility in a time of crisis, was forced to open the political system to opposition groups. However, because the regime was unprepared for any substantial transfer of power, the electoral victory of the Islamic Salvation Front (FIS) led to a military coup, and a civil war pitting radical Islamists against a authoritarian regime.

Algeria's conflict has ramifications that travel far beyond its borders. Europe states rely upon Algerian natural gas for their energy needs, and are fearful of the impact of Islamic revivalism on their security situations. The result has been strong European support for the military regime, leading Algeria's radical Islamists to identify European states as co-belligerents.

Since neither the Algerian military nor the Islamic radicals have the might to achieve a military victory, the conflict can only be resolved through a political settlement. To protect its interests in North Africa, the West must ensure that the settlement offers the ability to participate to every political faction wining to forswear political violence. Endorsing the Platform of Rome, and accepting political Islam as a facet of civil society is the only way to bring peace to Algeria.

U.S. DECISION-MAKING PROCESS ON NATO ENLARGEMENT: IMPLICATIONS FOR EAST EUROPEAN STATES

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This thesis examines the evolution of post-Cold War U.S. policy toward NATO as a case study of the way in which domestic and international pressures interact to shape security policy. I argue that the expansion of U.S. commitments to post-Cold

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War Europe corresponds to the way key U.S. Policymaking institutions have framed American national interests. President Clinton, his key advisors and Republican leaders of Congress emphasize that NATO enlargement advances American interests by accelerating the success of democratic and market economy reforms in Eastern European countries and Russia. But NATO enlargement also serves a more defensive mission—that of pushing back threats to the West from the East. The process that led to this definition of U.S. interests reflects the flexibility of the U.S. decision-making structure, and the sharing of powers between Congress, the president and other key actors. The interpretation of these national interests, in turn, have been shaped by two factors: geostrategic perspectives and domestic political concerns. Wide agreement has emerged between Congress and the Executive Branch that NATO enlargement serves U.S. geostrategic interests. Moreover, at least until now, partisan political conflict over NATO enlargement has remained muted. Such conflicts could grow as new strategic questions emerge with the prospect of enlargement beyond the Visegrad countries (Poland, Hungary and the Czech Republic).

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SQUARING THE CIRCLE: ATTEMPTING PEACE IN NORTHERN IRELAND

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Finding a political framework for self-government in Northern Ireland that will be supported by both nationalists and unionists is referred to as a modern day attempt to do the impossible to “square the circle.” During the latest phase of the Troubles, from 1968 to 1996, there have been many attempts to bring peace to Northern Ireland by creating a negotiated settlement, but none has worked. This thesis compares two of the most significant attempts, the first in 1973 and the second in 1993, to evaluate prospects for peace in the future. Although the goals of both attempts were the same (a devolved government, economic recovery, and the cessation of terrorist violence), a comparison shows important differences in the political atmosphere and style of the peace process, effected especially by the changing role of the Irish Republican Army’s political wing, Sinn Féin, and the intervention of third party mediators.

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THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN DEMOCRACY AND NONPROLIFERATION: BRAZIL, CHINA, AND THE MTCR

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This thesis examines the relationship between democracy and membership in the Missile Technology Control Regime (MTCR), a supply-side form of arms control. The thesis uses the focused comparison approach, investigating Brazil (a member of the MTCR) and the People's Republic of China (a non-member). Four independent variables are tested: democratic institutionalization; economic freedoms; norms, values, and beliefs; and elections. These are analyzed in each case and compared to the nation's decision to join the MTCR.

The findings are that democracy, due to the effect of the independent variables, influenced and induced Brazil to join the MTCR; in contrast, the lack of democracy in China inhibits that country from joining. Brazil joined because of public desires for economic and material aid. These pressured the leadership to adhere, thus making the regime more effective. Therefore, the efforts to persuade China to join the MTCR might not succeed until it establishes democracy (including all four variables). This finding suggests that the U.S. National Security policy of "engagement and enlargement" is appropriate.

ESTONIA—PROSPECTS FOR SURVIVAL IN THE TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY

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In many ways, Estonia's 750 years of foreign occupation created an environment in which independence flourishes today. When the opportunity to reassert its independence came, the Estonians were able to rely on a remarkable degree of popular support and unanimity in all major aspects of the process.

In the six years that have passed since independence, the Estonians have established a stable currency and a successful economy. They have established the rule of law and have conducted free and democratic elections. They created a military from scratch, and have formed a multi-national peacekeeping battalion with the other Baltic States which has conducted peacekeeping operations both in Bosnia and in Lebanon.

Estonia's foreign policy priority is gaining admission into the EU and NATO. The debate over Estonian admission into NATO has several implications for U.S. policy. First, there is a large Baltic constituency within the U.S. who were quite active during the Soviet occupation and helped keep Baltic policy on the American foreign policy agenda. Secondly, Estonian membership in NATO is important because the U.S. supports the inclusion of Central and East European nations into the alliance. Finally, the decision of whether or not to offer Estonia membership is likely to have an effect on U.S./Russian relations. Russia has publicly stated on many occasions that they do not support any of the Baltic nations joining NATO

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DEMOGRAPHIC TRENDS IN FRANCE AND GERMANY: IMPLICATIONS FOR U.S. NATIONAL SECURITY

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This thesis explores the changing demographic picture in France and Germany and how it may affect U.S. national security in the near future. While demographics are only one set of the many forces driving changes in the way the United States and Western Europe interact and cooperate, they have the potential to fundamentally change the way Western Europe shapes and implements its security policies around the world. This thesis examines how demographic trends in Western Europe, particularly France and Germany, will affect those countries' abilities to fund and man viable military forces. The analysis includes topics such as immigration, terrorism, the importation of foreign conflicts, and increased nationalistic xenophobia. Finally it examines the implications these demographic changes will have on U.S. national security, in particular the willingness of France and Germany to act as U.S. allies and their ability to invest in defense spending. It concludes that while they are radically changing their force posture, France and Germany will continue to rely on the U.S. military for European security. Also, if Western Europe's social welfare programs are not significantly reformed, demographic forces will necessitate further decreases in defense spending.

IMPACT OF ZIMBABWE - SOUTH AFRICA TRADE RELATIONS: A BILATERAL, REGIONAL, OR MULTILATERAL APPROACH?

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The pursuit of a seemingly unfruitful bilateral trade arrangement with South Africa, and continued participation in overlapping, but non-functional regional free trade areas, has left Zimbabwe in foreign trade dilemma, specially in the light of the deteriorating terms of trade with South Africa, her main trading partner and competitor for both mutual and regional trade.

This thesis examines the various regional trade possibilities involving Zimbabwe and South Africa using the free trade area and customs union models of international trade. Whereas a functional bilateral trade agreement or a regional customs union culminating in a common market might improve Zimbabwe's regional competitiveness in the short run, due to South Africa's economic dominance and protectionist trade policies, Zimbabwe's potential to benefit from trade with non-participants would be severely curtailed. However, a broad free trade area, which allows flexibility to pursue national trade policies, seems less harmful. The analysis concludes that only a broad free trade area superseding all current eastern and southern African regional trade arrangements, would increase Zimbabwe's economic welfare. It would be in the interests of all regional countries to finalize a single broad free trade area rather than maintain the status quo.

THE IMPACT OF U.S. DE-CERTIFICATION ON COLOMBIAN DEMOCRACY

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This is a study of the impact of the United States drug-related de-certification upon the consolidation of democracy in Colombia. De-certification is one of the most powerful tools the United States has to focus international attention on the

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threat of narcotics and drug trafficking. This thesis argues that the de-certification decision made by the United States on March 1, 1996, in the short term undermines Colombian democracy. The de-certification is politically oriented to oust the government of President Ernesto Samper Pizano. President Pizano was targeted because of the infiltration of illegal drug money in his presidential campaign. The de-certification did not accomplish its objective. On the contrary, it brought more instability to the country, made the social situation more volatile and the democracy weaker and more vulnerable. However, it is possible that in the long-term de-certification could have a positive impact on Colombian democracy, by helping the state to develop a strong posture against corruption and the drug syndicates.

STATE STRENGTH AND GUERRILLA POWER: THE EQUILIBRIUM BETWEEN THE COLOMBIAN GOVERNMENT AND THE GUERRILLA GROUPS

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This study addresses the question of whether there is an equilibrium between the Colombian government and the guerrilla groups. This subject is addressed for the purpose of gaining an understanding and finding answers to Colombia's violent political conflict.

The study argues that there is an equilibrium between the government and the guerrilla groups. The author uses three variables, the military balance, the peasant support for the guerrillas, and the weakness of the state, to discuss the equilibrium and its effect in this conflict.

In conclusion, the author maintains that the equilibrium between the actors in the conflict is not structural, but is a circumstance of the effects of both the narco-trafficking and the failure of the judicial system. If this balance is to change, action must be taken on two fronts, narco-trafficking and the judicial system.

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN ECOLOGY AND SECURITY SHOWN BY THE EXAMPLE OF THE CENTRAL ASIAN REGION AND POLICY-ORIENTED GLOBAL APPROACHES TO PREVENT ECOLOGICALLY INDUCED CONFLICTS

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In order to ensure future security, the nations of the world must deal putatively with global-wide ecological problems. These problems include; ecological degradation and scarcity of resources, they demonstrate the explosive force of ecologically induced conflict. Many conflicts in the Central Asian region are the result of ecological transformation in combination with other sources of conflict. Preventive measures should be created at the international, regional, and national level for dealing with these ecologically induced risks and settling already existing conflicts. This study addresses the role and significance of these risks in the sense of security and conflict studies. The study examines the current situation in the Central Asian region and the relationships between existing ecologically induced risks and security. Preventive measures for the region are analyzed and assessed. Finally an approach to a comprehensive global system of policy-oriented measures to prevent ecologically caused conflicts will be discussed and developed.

An increased sensitivity to ecologically induced conflict and a general review of the meaning of security is needed. International law, a renunciation of sovereignty and international institution-building are necessary for the creation of a global approach to meet this new global challenge.

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REQUIRED INFORMATION SYSTEMS KNOWLEDGE FOR NAVAL INTELLIGENCE OFFICERS

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To be effective in most current billets, Naval Intelligence Officers must have a baseline technical knowledge of computer hardware and software, data communications, and related-systems (known collectively as Information Technology). This thesis reviews survey data of common Intelligence Officer billets ashore and afloat as well as leadership statements and doctrine. Using these sources, knowledge requirements of existing and future Intelligence Officer assignments are identified in this study, and it is clear that these requirements are not currently being satisfied through standard intelligence training methods. An outline is provided of information technology fundamentals, military and commercial telecommunications, intelligence systems, applications, and connectivity to assist with formal or self-training programs.

Intelligence Officer training and education must include more information technology and intelligence architecture. Existing intelligence courses and other non-traditional programs should be better utilized by Naval Intelligence personnel. ONI or DIA should ensure that these programs are both current and readily available to Intelligence Officers throughout their entire careers.

MEXICO: PROSPECTS FOR DEMOCRACY

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The purpose of this thesis is to analyze why Mexico has failed to democratize and offer recommendations for U.S. policy toward Mexico. The thesis examines the impact of three causal variables on the level of democracy in Mexico: civilian control of the military, the fairness of Mexico's political party system and U.S. foreign policy towards Mexico. This thesis concludes that although Mexico has civilian control of the military, such control is necessary, but not sufficient for democracy; that because Mexico's political party system is unfair, Mexico does not have fully competitive political parties; and that there is some linkage between U.S. economic assistance and democratization in Mexico. The prospects for democracy in Mexico are cloudy. For the Institutional Revolutionary Party, there is much to lose should Mexico become more democratic. A recommendation for U.S. policy is to develop a special relationship with Mexico and prioritize U.S. interests in Mexico.

A RUSSIAN MAN ON HORSEBACK: THE RISE OF GENERAL ALEXANDER LEBED

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General Alexander Lebed burst upon the Russian political scene like a gallant man on horseback, promising to restore order out of chaos, crack down on crime and corruption, and resurrect Russian nationalism. The 1996 presidential elections confirmed his growing, independent constituency of those who could not continue to endorse the Yeltsin government, yet would not retreat to the old ways by voting for the communist candidate Zyuganov. Quickly appointed as national security chief, Lebed won the vote for Yeltsin in the run off election, but was dismissed just four months after taking office. Still, Lebed is today the most popular politician in Russia, admired for his blunt, honest manner and his ending the war in Chechnya.

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Without the communist party, the uncertain civilian control over the Russian military—especially forces outside the Russian Federation—paved the way for generals like Lebed. As an army commander in Moldova, Lebed captured the public's imagination as a firm, honorable, professional soldier.

Lebed earned the reputation as a crude and forceful leader, but did not develop into the red-brown nationalist portrayed by Western journalism. In this first-ever critical biography, he was instead a charismatic, skillful yet trainable politician who capitalized on nationalism and the appeal of strong authoritative leadership.

COLLECTIVE SECURITY AS A MEANS FOR REGIONAL STABILITY IN NORTHEAST ASIA

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This thesis evaluates the applicability of a collective security system to Northeast Asian states as a means for regional stability in the future. The current bilateral security system will not fit with the future security environment because of three coming changes in this region: Korean reunification; a conspicuous reduction of the U.S. security role; and a future confrontational power structure between China and Japan. According to the theoretical perspectives of realists, institutionalists, and constructivists, there should be five conditions for the success for collective security: positive identities, shared interests, institutions to control states' behaviors, information, and interactions between institutions and states. The case studies of the Locarno Pact and NATO confirms this. For the Northeast Asian states, it would be very difficult to form positive identities and share common security interests at present. However, as long as a future balance of power structure is not desirable for regional stability, the Northeast Asian states should set the goal of collective security for their co-prosperity in the future. They can establish a collective security system through the following steps: the settlement of historical and ideological enmities; confidence building; establishment of a Northeast Asian institution for security cooperation; and institutionalization of collective security.

INTELLIGENCE SUPPORT FOR INTERDICTING MARITIME NARCOTICS TRAFFICKERS (U)

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Maritime narcotics smuggling is a prosperous method used by traffickers to deliver drugs to the United States. The problem is especially prevalent in the Atlantic Ocean and the Caribbean Sea. Current detection and monitoring (D&M) and interdiction operations have met with only limited successes. Intelligence can provide these forces with the upper hand in the war on drugs.

This thesis focuses on the maritime trafficking that occurs in the Caribbean and Atlantic. Although similar trafficking methods are used in the Pacific and other areas, the scope of this thesis is directed toward intelligence support for interdiction and detection efforts in the sea lanes of the Caribbean and Atlantic.

The thesis provides the background of the existing smuggling practices and methods. In addition, it analyzes current detection and interdiction operations, domestic legislation that drives these programs, and how intelligence support is provided to such operations.

Finally, shortcomings to the intelligence programs that support counter narcotic operations are identified. The final chapter is composed of numerous recommendations on how to improve the role of intelligence in both detection and monitoring efforts and also interdiction operations against the modern maritime trafficker.

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CAPABILITY AND INTENTION: AN ANALYSIS OF THE MODERNIZATION OF THE PLA

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In the wake of the Cold War, U.S. government officials and China analysts began to discuss the possibility of an emerging "China threat." This thesis assesses China's military modernization program in order to determine its capability and primary intent. Four aspects of the People's Liberation Army (PLA) are examined: the history of military modernization, PLA economic activities, the PLA's modernization strategy and force utilization.

Final analysis indicates that China's military modernization program is intended primarily to enhance domestic stability and economic growth and not to seek regional hegemony by force. However, there are several points of contention that may spur China to military action. Two possible areas of future conflict are Taiwan and the South China Sea. I maintain that China will probably refrain from aggression in these areas unless it feels its interests are endangered. It does not have the will or the capability to seek conflict in the region.

POLAND: A CASE STUDY IN THE DEMOCRATIZATION OF AN INTELLIGENCE SERVICE (U)

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Totalitarian states often create and maintain extensive, pervasive security intelligence organizations to preserve internal order and to help ensure the longevity of the ruling body. These organizations have an inward focus, considerable autonomy, and little governmental oversight. Despite these agencies and other measures, repressive governments sometimes are replaced with democratic regimes. As states make this transition to democracy, potential exists for the former security intelligence apparatus to maintain its influence on the host nation, to the detriment of the government's efforts to rule. As the government changes to democracy, so should the security intelligence organ. A democracy's intelligence organization reflects more of an outward focus, and is characterized by restraint and oversight mechanisms.

Poland is such a case. A Soviet client state during the Cold War, Poland maintained an extensive and ubiquitous security apparatus that permeated every level of society. As Poland becomes democratic, the Poles wish to join the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). This thesis examines the Polish security intelligence of the Cold War and present-day, demonstrating that the Poles have transformed their organization, and that potential security intelligence holdovers from the Cold War are not a threat to U.S. security interests involving Poland, nor NATO expansion.

BALLISTIC MISSILE DEFENSE AND NATO ALLIANCE RELATIONS

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Short-range missiles in Third World arsenals pose a serious threat to forward-deployed U.S. and allied military forces. The acquisition of longer-range missiles has the potential to extend that threat to the population and territory of the United States and its allies. While NATO member states have agreed to develop Theater Missile Defense (TMD) systems to support forward-deployed troops, they continue to dispute which MD systems ought to be developed and whether territorial or

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population defenses ought to be built. In this long-standing dispute, the United States has often found itself at odds with its European allies.

This thesis argues that ballistic missile defense remains a potential source of friction between the United States and its European allies, but for substantially different reasons than in the Cold War era. The strategic and political differences which alienated allies during the Cold War have been replaced by economic considerations and the inability to develop a unified BMD strategy. These factors continue to make BMD a divisive issue. To prevent the erosion of Alliance relations, the United States must show greater sensitivity to the interests of its European allies, who in turn must exhibit a greater commitment to NATO goals.

THE LONG SEARCH FOR DEMOCRATIC STABILITY IN EL SALVADOR: IMPLICATIONS FOR UNITED STATES POLICY

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From 1980 to 1992, the United States spent over 6 billion dollars to combat insurgency and bolster democracy in El Salvador, a nation of only 5.3 million people. In fact, El Salvador was the site of the United States' most prolonged—and until the Persian Gulf War—the most costly military endeavor since Vietnam. While United States assistance did help the Salvadoran government combat the insurgents, this aid by most accounts acted to undermine rather than bolster the democratic stability of the country. The thesis examines the democratic experience of El Salvador, as a representative case study of a nation experiencing insurgency, to determine what changes are required in the formation of U.S. foreign policy to help bolster democratic stability in countries challenged by insurgency.

The thesis makes four key assertions: First, it is in the United States' self-interest to aid in the consolidation of democracy in El Salvador. Second, El Salvador is a nascent democracy, even after the Peace Accords of 1992 were signed, lacking democratic experience or stability, thus requiring U.S. assistance. Third, despite oligarchic resistance, the United States has the ability to successfully influence democratic reform. Fourth, the best way to define United States' priorities for democratic assistance to El Salvador must be through a comprehensive, empirically-based assessment of causal factors.

Utilizing the El Salvador case study and pre-existing theories, the thesis then presents and tests a new empirically-based model for defining U.S. priorities for providing democratic assistance to El Salvador or any other country under consideration. The research could potentially save the United States significant resources and time, while achieving the foreign policy goal of democratic enlargement.

THE DAWN OF CRUISE MISSILE DIPLOMACY

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The Tomahawk cruise missile has become the weapon of choice for the U.S. National Command Authority (NCA) following the Persian Gulf War. It appears that the Tomahawk cruise missile has supplanted more traditional military methods of gunboat diplomacy, such as attack aircraft and naval gunfire, as the primary means of delivering a military punch to achieve political gain. Since their first use in Operation Desert Storm, more than one hundred Tomahawk cruise missiles have been fired in battle in four separate instances: the January and June 1993 strikes in Iraq, the September 1995 strikes in Bosnia, and the September 1996 strikes in Iraq.

This thesis traces the evolution of the Tomahawk cruise missile since its debut in the 1991 Gulf War as an instrument in the execution of U.S. foreign policy and examines the reasons for the increased U.S. reliance on the Tomahawk. This

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research describes this unique weapon system, examines why Tomahawk has become the U.S. weapon of choice, and examines the likely political and military repercussions of the future employment of Tomahawk cruise missiles.

OIL POLICY IN RUSSIA TOWARD SELECTED NEW INDEPENDENT STATES

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Following the breakdown of the Soviet Union, one of the world's strongest oil producing industries was divided into a few major oil provinces. This process has adversely affected the Russian energy industry. The process of change to the former Soviet oil industry including: Russian efforts to maintain control of its former resources, NIS resource development, Western capital investment, and environmental issues in the major oil provinces of the former Soviet Union, is the main focus of this thesis.

Free market world oil majors and their counterparts, both in Russia and the New Independent States, have developed a number of significant alliances that have resulted in several potentially lucrative joint ventures. The coercive tactics that the Russian government resorts to in an effort to prevent its former republics from efficiently developing their reserves, and the position the United States must take to ensure these efforts are stifled will be addressed.

A sound grasp of these critical energy issues by American policy makers will result in the development of these vast resources in a manner favorable to U.S. national interests. This will provide security for our strategic reserves and offer a viable alternative to the Persian Gulf resources far into the twenty-first century.

RUSSIA AND CHINA: A HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE ON THE PROSPECTS FOR ALLIANCE

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This thesis examines prospects for the development of Chinese-Russian strategic relations. It addresses an interpretation that is prevalent, if not predominant, in current literature on the relationship—that the two countries appear to be moving toward alignment or alliance, and that the evidence for this movement is in the increasing security-related cooperation between the two sides since 1990. This paper addresses two questions that are central to this interpretation: (1) Is cooperation between the two sides in fact deepening over time? and (2) Is this cooperation likely to lead to alignment?

The issue of whether various forms of cooperation between the two sides are properly seen as elements of a new, closer security relationship are addressed in three case studies, each of which compares an important facet of bilateral cooperation in the 1990s with cooperation in the same field during the 1950s. Cooperation in defense technology, economic affairs, and territorial relations are examined. These studies find that Chinese-Russian cooperation is likely to continue for the foreseeable future, but that it has fallen off since the early 1990s and is unlikely to develop beyond current levels in the near term. They find no causal link between cooperative relations and the emergence of alignment or alliance between these states. The limited scope of current bilateral cooperation between these countries, the absence of mutual favored treatment in their cooperative relations, and persistent historical enmities are central to this judgment.

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THE INTERNATIONAL LEGAL IMPLICATIONS OF THE MOBILE OFFSHORE BASE: NO ARMY OR AIR FORCE IS AN ISLAND

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In light of recent drastic changes in national security concerns, new Systems are being considered for future military implementation. One of the major systems under consideration by the Advanced Research Projects Agency is the Mobile Offshore Base (MOB). The MOB entails essentially two to six self-propelled, floating platforms that are connected and used for military presence and/or war-fighting purposes. This thesis examines the question of whether the MOB should legally be considered a warship, a merchant vessel, or structure/installation. This question is important for the answer implies where on the ocean and under what circumstances the placement of the system complies with international law. After a brief review of the national policy with respect to presence and the problem of reduced access to overseas bases, the thesis examines the legal implications of the MOB. The legal analysis starts with the United Nations Law of the Sea Convention (UNCLOS) that entered into force December 16, 1994. Gaps in UNCLOS definitions and policy are explained by general concepts of international law and, where needed, municipal law. The thesis concludes the MOB should be considered a ship and should be given warship status by the United States government.

PREVENTING BALLISTIC MISSILE PROLIFERATION: LESSONS FROM IRAQ

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The proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and ballistic missiles is now one of the greatest threats to the United States and its allies. Efforts to contain WMD proliferation, particularly the Missile Technology Control Regime (MTCR), have had limited success and must be improved to deal with new arms proliferation challenges.

This thesis examines the case of Iraq to assess the performance of the missile nonproliferation regime since 1970. By analyzing the methods used by Iraq to obtain missile systems and missile technology, this thesis assesses the ability of the international community to prevent ballistic missile proliferation. Understanding Iraq's past capabilities as well as its post-war efforts to rebuild weapons programs and procurement networks, this thesis provides suggestions for improving the regime's performance.

This thesis finds that: (1) prior to 1992 the MTCR failed in its attempts to prevent proliferation; (2) the existence of the MTCR, while necessary to slow proliferation, is not sufficient to prevent proliferation; and (3) additional enforcement is needed to counter WMD acquisition by resourceful and determined states.

NATO EXPANSION AND THE BALTIC STATES

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The thesis examines the prospects for the Baltic States (Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania) in the NATO expansion process. To provide historical perspective, previous NATO expansions and recent official NATO policies towards expansion are reviewed. Actions and deliberations in the Baltic States regarding NATO expansion are examined to set the stage for the most

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critical elements of the analysis, the American and Russian positions. The decisive influence of American leadership within NATO is assessed, and views on NATO expansion within the American body politic and the elected leadership are surveyed. The role of Russian opposition to NATO expansion and, more importantly, the sources of this opposition within the Russian political elites are examined, with particular attention to the formal decision-making structure and internal political dynamics. Finally, the thesis assesses the probable effect of alternative forms of NATO expansion on European security and stability.

PROCESS IMPROVEMENT TO THE INSPECTION READINESS PLAN IN CHEMICAL WEAPONS CONVENTION CHALLENGE INSPECTIONS

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This thesis identified current Information Technology initiatives to help improve the Navy's Inspection Readiness Plan for Chemical Warfare Convention (CWC) Challenge Inspection. The CWC is an intrusive inspection. The Challenge Inspection allows for a team of international inspectors to inspect a naval facility suspected of violating the CWC on very short notice.

This thesis begins with a review of the CWC Challenge Inspection timeline. It then describes the Navy's Inspection Readiness Plan for CWC Challenge Inspections as well as the Navy Tiger Team that is sent to naval facilities to assist the Commanding Officer and base personnel during inspections. One of the initiatives evaluated by this analysis is the use of videoconferencing. To ascertain the feasibility of using videoconferencing in the CWC Challenge Inspection process, this thesis reviews the current videoconferencing systems and standards, and the results of a questionnaire that was sent to various naval commands. This thesis concludes with recommendations for inclusion of videoconferencing and various other Information Technology initiatives in the CWC Challenge Inspection process.

ALTERNATIVE PATHWAYS TO NUCLEAR WEAPONS PRODUCTION (U)

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CLASSIFIED ABSTRACT

U.S. FOREIGN POLICY IN THE CAUCASUS AND CENTRAL ASIA: PIPELINE POLITICS AND THE NATIONAL INTEREST

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This thesis examines the post-Cold War foreign policy of the United States in the Caucasus and Central Asia from a theoretical and practical view. It investigates how U.S. policies towards specific countries in the region have affected the region as a whole. Specifically, three case studies are used to explore the geopolitical implications of pipeline politics in

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Kazakstan, Azerbaijan, and Turkmenistan. This study concludes with specific options and recommendations for U.S. foreign policy makers to enhance and enlarge U.S. influence in the Caucasus and Central Asia.

**NUCLEAR MYTHS AND SOCIAL DISCOURSE:
THE U.S. DECISION TO PURSUE NUCLEAR WEAPONS**

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Why do countries want nuclear weapons? This question has plagued non-proliferation and U.S. intelligence experts since the beginning of the nuclear era. Motivations for nuclear weapons typically are viewed as the product of external variables (perceived insecurity, prestige, etc.). This thesis asserts that a different level of analysis is appropriate. It is a society's beliefs about nuclear technology that at least partially explains nuclear proliferation.

The 1939 U.S. decision to develop nuclear weapons is examined in light of early American beliefs about nuclear technology. I show that various cultural texts and statements by influential elites made policy makers believe in the military utility of nuclear energy. If these texts and statements had not existed, President Roosevelt might not have launched the Manhattan Project.

**THE "CHINA FACTOR" IN JAPANESE MILITARY
MODERNIZATION FOR THE 21st CENTURY (U)**

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Japan's reevaluation of its security position and the role it wishes to play in regional and international matters has been influenced by the reemergence of China and continue to affect Japan as it moves to its newly described role. Japan's ongoing modernization of its forces, which are directed under its National Defense Program Outline and Midterm Defense Program, do not, however, seem to be in reaction to any overt perception of a Chinese threat or Chinese influence. These programs reflect Japan's decision to take a "balanced approach" to security, an approach based on the United States-Japan security arrangements, supported by a self-reliant defense force and in conjunction with regional and international approaches to security.

The Japanese, with their balanced approach to security, are carefully preparing for the 21st Century. By addressing security from bilateral, regional/multilateral, and international perspectives, Japan is putting itself on a more even keel. It is no longer relying exclusively on the United States-Japan security arrangements nor is it waiting for the United States to lead the way in its foreign policy. The "China factor," in its small way, has enabled Japan to better prepare itself to deal with the United States, its neighbors, as well as the rest of the world, as it prepares for the 21st Century. Areas of tension remain, however, that could stress, strain or break its security structure. Such an event could cause Japan to reassess the system it has chosen. What is clear, however, is that Sino-Japanese relations will play a critical role on whichever path it goes.

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UNITED STATES-JAPAN SECURITY RELATIONS: SCENARIOS FOR THE FUTURE

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Master of Arts in National Security Affairs-December 1996

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This thesis examines the viability of the United States-Japan security relationship by considering four scenarios. The scenarios are discussed using a number of specific factors likely to affect the security relationship in the future. The relationship is also considered abstractly using international relations theory to highlight "systemic" explanations for the behavior of various states in the scenarios. First, the security relationship could come to an end if America is increasingly viewed as the "policeman" of Asia or the "cap in the bottle" of Japan without an identifiable benefit to match that role. While the United States was willing to subordinate economic concerns for the sake of security in the past, this win is increasingly difficult in the future. Second, the security arrangement could be threatened if Japan assumes a security role commensurate with its political and economic position in East Asia. If Japan increases the size of its military, this could cloud the rationale for the presence of American military forces in Japan. Japan might choose to do so because of regional dynamics, such as Korean unification; conflict caused by a fragmented or "weak" China; or the emergence of a regional trading bloc in East Asia. Third, the emergence of China as the dominant power in East Asia might threaten the United States and Japan and reinvigorate their security alliance. China's efforts to increase its influence in the region could cause uneasiness in the United States and Japan causing them to act as a "balance" against China. Fourth, efforts to update the relationship could ensure its long-term survival. Reassessing the purpose of the relationship and moving it from the needs of the Cold War to the realities of the post-Cold War era would be key to any effort to update it. In this context, the United States might consider changing the bilateral relationship into a larger multilateral security regime in East Asia.

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